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to bring about an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men on a global scale. Seeking to realize these bi-polar objectives, the Bolsheviks have inherited and reinforced the basic contradictions and conflicts between the aspirations of the rulers and those of the subjects which have throughout centuries undermined the stability of Czardom.

In their effort to perpetuate themselves in power, the Bolsheviks had to remain organized as a ruling elite of professional conspirators and to reinforce dominance-submission relationships in a system of total power concentrated in their hands. To maintain such a political rule, the Bolsheviks had to introduce a system of total dependence of all upon the holders of power and thus to reinforce the attitudes of self-effacement. They also established a planned system of social differentiation and isolation to prevent social intimacy and group solidarity and hence the potentiality of organized opposition to their rule.

In such conditions, feelings of rejection and traditional longings for an equalitarian and all-human brotherhood of men have been greatly strengthened among the subjects. It is this situation that points out the fundamental weakness of the Soviet system. To counteract the effects of this basic vulnerability of their regime, the Bolsheviks have endeavored to deify the Soviet rulers, have resorted to the damnation and anathema of the Western world, and have embarked on a propaganda campaign for a Messianic redemption of all suffering and exploited humanity. In this manner, the Bolsheviks have been able to appeal to supra-ethnical and supra-personal loyalties and to all-human longings, not unlike a universal church.

The Bolsheviks have also endeavored to build up the morale of their subjects by means of prestige projects, by mythical undertakings, by mass pageantry, mass unanimous voting and large scale militarization. All these devices are conceived as ways to provoke emotional identification of the masses with the Soviet State and to find in this identification a substitute for their yearnings for a community of free and equal men.

Total dominance and total submission relationships which have to be maintained to perpetuate this conspiratorial system of power have introduced other basic strains and stresses in the

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need for personal responsibility is stressed in these sayings: "No one is to blame. He is to blame himself"; "For a good man all goes well."[21] And when they quarrel they are not expected to become vindictive, but to forget and say "Words are like wind."[22]

These people are very fond of intoxicating drink which in their society seems to be a way to increase sociability and channel aggressiveness rather than a means of escape. They drink in groups, not alone, and then they sing and dance and appeal to Lada, who was the Goddess of Love in their heathen past. They tend to turn even sad and mournful events into occasions for merry-making and are inclined to minimize fear of death.[23]

II

Interpersonal relations and philosophy of life of the early Slav plowmen seem to have been projected into their supernatural world. According to the early beliefs of these people, the universe was governed by a great many deities, fairies and spirits. Most of these supernatural beings were pictured as benevolent, some mildly malevolent. They lived in families and had children. They could be found everywhere: in the house as well as in the lakes and rivers; they could be seen swinging from every plant and tree: or heard singing and handclapping in every barn and on every threshing floor. Until very recently, the Bielorussian peasant could see the sun dancing if he got up early in the morning on a certain day of the year.

The whole cosmic view of the early Slav agriculturist seems to have consisted of pantheism and animism. All nature was possessed of spirits that behaved like human beings. Human beings themselves were identified with nature, with animals and plants. This identification of man and nature found its expression, for instance, in personal names which were those of seasons and natural spectacles, of trees, flowers and fruits, birds and other animals. These semi-matriarchal plowmen also apparently practiced a special cult of Mother Earth and of Rozhanitsy—the female beings who presided over the birth and destiny of man. Sacrificial meals were offered to these fairy-like spirits, consisting of meatless dishes.[24] The sermons of the first Christian missionaries

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were directed not only against this cult, but also against that of the Fire and of the Sun.[25] There was no cult of war-gods in the mythology of the Old Slavs nor was there any epic poetry in their folklore.

Unlike the patriarchal, rigidly stratified and dualistic religious system of steppe nomads which was full of tensions and struggles, the supernatural world of the Slavs of Polesie was anarchic, equalitarian and peaceful. Apparently projecting their own social organization into the supernatural world, the Old-Slavonic plowmen conceived it as being composed of both sexes but without a hierarchy of power among themselves The deities that inhabited that world were neither arbitrary nor corrupted, nor did they fight among themselves for the control over man. Festivals in their honor were celebrated with the accent on drink, song, dance and lovemaking.

Accordingly the Slavs of Polesie did not have to appease their deities nor try to be on good terms with both the bad and the good ones. They believed that after death bad and wicked people would roam the earth in the form of werewolves and vampires; but, they also possessed simple means of protection against these evil ghosts, such as pieces of torn clothes, which were accessible to everyone.[26] There were always persons of both sexes who maintained contact and control over the spirits of evil and were willing to help anyone in distress. Hence the Old Slavs trusted their wizards, the *veshchy*.[27]

According to the religious and social philosophy of the Slavs of the Dnieper, there are some general all-embracing rules of behavior to which all people, all the universe as well as all the deities, are subjected. In such a religious and philosophical system, the deities could not be capricious. They could be relied upon to behave according to commonly accepted rules of conduct and should not therefore be distrusted and feared. It is this optimistic view of destiny and of the universe, in which order and anarchic equity, not sword or might nor caprice prevail, that perhaps had found expression in the Old-Slavonic concept of law which was identified with truth and justice (*pravda*). The same view of life had perhaps found expression also in the Old-Slavonic concept of judgment which was identified with destiny

(*sud*). Accordingly, in the mind of these people, the universe and peace (*mir*) were also identical.[28]

Great calamities occasionally befell the Old-Slavonic communities—frequent raids and plundering by the invaders and slave hunters; then cattle plagues and epidemics. These were thought to have been brought on by certain demons and malevolent ghosts, but the Polesie people knew of ways to cope even with such disasters. Contagious diseases were prevented or stopped by means of magic, especially by the magical powers of women. As for their enemies, the soil cultivators of the Dnieper basin were not prepared for any offensive or defensive warfare and were an easy prey for many aggressors. Being not armed, their defense consisted of hiding themselves. They sought safety in impenetrable marshes and forests and even resorted to such ruses as lying submerged on the bottoms of marshes and breathing by means of cane sticks until the danger was over.[29]

Since the Old-Slavonic agriculturists contracted their marriage unions early in life, as a means of labor supply and since they were not exposed to exhaustion of constant warfare, the region which they originally inhabited soon reached its limits of population. Thus, in spite of their autarchic and intensive agricultural techniques and their attachment to the soil, the early Slav folk were forced to leave their original habitat in search of new lands. They did not migrate in a fury and did not traverse great distances like the mounted nomads of the steppes; rather, they moved slowly and quietly for short distances and by stages always keeping in touch with the mother community from which they had sprung.

In this manner the Old-Slavonic tillers penetrated new regions and territories, not by force and conquest like the predatory steppe raiders, but by cultivating new soil along the river basins, in the midst of forest clearings, drained marshes or irrigated steppes. Living in village communities which remained ethnically uninterrupted, they transplanted and perpetuated in their new homes their native agricultural techniques, their beliefs and customs, their family and community organization, as well as their philosophy of life. Thus as late as the twentieth century, the social organization and personality traits of the Zadruga peo-

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attractive forest fairies who used to help travelers changed into beastly demons who trick wayfarers into making them lose their way and then cause them to perish.

The imposition of the rule of nomadic warriors over the soil cultivators brought about not only insecurity of life and property, but disintegration of the old ways of life and of the old morals. Social disintegration favored detachment from the group, caused decline in group identification and solidarity, tended to increase self-concern, fostered destructive aggressiveness and anti-social behavior. Hence, drunkenness, debauchery, orgiastic practices, together with robbing and killing, became prominent. According to Fedotov, the old Christian sermons are so full of invectives against such behavior that some studies of Russia's religious life consider that these themes formed the main content of anti-pagan literature of those days.[33]

Perhaps as a result of such social disorganization the Old-Slavonic Goddess of Love (Lada) was relegated into the background and obscurity. Instead, male gods of bacchanalian passion and Dionysiac orgy (Iarilo, Pereplut) became outstanding in folk imagination.[34] A phallic rite was observed at wedding banquets and sexual promiscuity during the feast gathering of young people became prominent, according to the old sermons.[35]

It was under these conditions of social disorganization and insecurity, and ascendency of power-oriented patriarchal system over the old stateless, semi-matriarchal and equalitarian order that the attitudes toward women changed radically. Mounting hostilities generated by conditions of strife and insecurity can be vented not only through inordinate sex life, alcoholism and delinquency, but also by aggressive behavior against all the unprotected and the weak. And just as sex life tended to take the form of lechery, and love that of uncontrolled passion, the attitudes toward the women changed from respect and reserve to that of scorn and contempt. They came to be looked upon as impure and unclean physically and morally.[36]

It is possible that the new unsatisfactory social conditions might have also affected the concept of the Christian God and attitude toward death. Not only did popular imagination in conditions of disorganization and insecurity tend to see in this

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God a wrathful, irate and revengeful Old Man, but the Church leaders themselves, affected by the conditions of their society, were inclined to emphasize the fear aspect of the Christian God rather than his love and compassion. They also tended to preoccupy themselves with death, describing it as a terror-striking event. In some early Church sermons even the messengers of God, the angels, were represented in a terrifying manner:

> Then, two angels appear, sent by God for the soul. As soon as the soul has seen them, it will be horrified; all its image and beauty and face will change; feet and hands will be torpid, and the hearing as with the tongue will be chained by silence; and man will be all sorrowful and invalid and woeful; and afterwards, appears death. And then, with a terrible pain the soul will issue from the body . . .[37]

These feelings of anxieties and fears, combined perhaps with a strong sense of guilt of the Church leaders, are manifested in the life histories of most Russian saints. These people, as portrayed in their hagiographies, were being constantly threatened by temptations and intimidations of dreadful demons. Hallucinations about demons became very frequent among the monks, and struggle against demons became one of the main aspects of ascetic life. Whole herds of these fiends were sometimes seen by the ascetics. The demons would disguise themselves as humans, as angels, and even as Christ, or they would appear in their true beastly form.[38]

Consistent with this gloomy and terrifying view of life and death was also an apocalyptic picture of the end of the world as pictured by Church leaders. According to the old Russian sermons the end of the world was very near and it was to ensue in fire and floods of blood brought about by a wrathful and revengeful God, (a picture that strongly reminds one of the vision of the end of the world found in the beliefs of the steppe nomads of Central Asia):

> Then undying fire will flow from the East to the West, devouring mountains, stones, trees, and the sea. The firmament will be dried up and turned like brick bats, and all existing things, except men, will melt in a like way by the rate of the fire. All the earth will be burned; and through this undying fire all mankind has to pass.

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There will be no place to run and hide oneself; it will be woe and pain without comfort, particularly for the repenting sinners. They will see the anger of God, full of rage and wrath, bearing the woe of revenge.[89]

Also the folk religious poetry began to emphasize the gloomy aspects of *post-mortem* life, especially that of the *Strashny Sud*—The Terrible Judgment. It was perhaps in such conditions that Destiny, together with the Truth, became dissociated from the idea of a supreme Justice that reigned everywhere and came to be looked upon as being subject to the caprice of arbitrary and uncontrollable forces that now dominated the Universe.

Such circumstances might have meant quick disintegration of this society, not unlike the rapid dissolution of the Turco-Mongol empires, had it not been for agents that favored the stabilization and the perpetuation of this social system in spite of its internal weaknesses. One of the most important instruments in this process of social consolidation was the Byzantine Church.

5
THE BYZANTINE CHURCH AND MUSCOVITE MILITARY THEOCRACY

I

FOLLOWING the traditions established by the Roman Caesars, the Emperor of Byzantium (Basileus) was looked upon as the supreme war-lord, the sole legislator, and the chief justice, as well as the universal ruler. Therefore, the Church, which was subjected to the absolute and autocratic will of the Emperor, developed a religious ideology in accordance with the dominant political philosophy and practices of the Empire.

The Emperor assumed the duty of defending the Church, combating heresy, and spreading Orthodox faith throughout all the globe. In return, God had promised him universal dominion

1 [cf. ref. 116, pp. 52-55--Analyst]

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795 over the whole earth.[1] Through the support of the Church the
●771 absolute power of the Emperor became sacred, all-comprising
779 and omnipresent. In the proclamation which announced his
643 reign after he has been solemnly anointed by the Patriarch it was stated that he "proceeded from God, and not from man," and that to him, the "supreme master of the universe, absolute obedience was due from all."[2]

795 It was this Messianic ideology of politico-religious proselytism
797 and world salvation which had united the Church and the state
177 that helped Byzantium to solidify its rule and to spread its influence and control over the neighboring countries. In conquered, dependent and friendly territories numerous bishoprics of Eastern rite were established whose function was to obtain the moral support of the people for the Byzantine ruler. The conquered people were allowed a certain degree of autonomy in their internal affairs and one of their privileges was the right of the use of their native language in church rituals.

This politico-religious expansionism, however, had its weaknesses. The only tie that linked the subjected and the dependent peoples with the central power was the Church. Thus, as soon as the central power and the authority of the Byzantine Emperor weakened as a result of internal feuds, palace revolutions, civil wars, and invasions, some petty local potentates saw a chance to emancipate themselves from Constantinople and proclaim themselves as sovereign rulers. Such a local lord following Byzantine traditions would appoint from his own kinsmen bishops and Patriarchs whose function was to anoint the new king, to bestow upon him God-like qualities, and to sanctify his despotic rule among the subjects.

795 It is this pattern of Church and state relations that also devel-
797 oped between Byzantium and Russia by the end of the tenth
648 century, when as a result of a political alliance with Byzantium Prince Vladimir of Kiev was converted to Christianity.[3] A Greek
793 Metropolitan and a number of Greek Orthodox bishops were subsequently sent to Russia. Having an eye on the control of all other Russian principalities, the Byzantine Church bestowed upon the Metropolitan of Kiev the authority over all Russian

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of the Czar, they became increasingly rank-conscious, domineering and abusive toward all lower in rank or under their power.[12]

Such a ruling class, with its open misrule and arbitrariness, could not inspire the subjected classes with confidence and respect. The lack of social and political security was manifested in want of initiative, in disinterest in productive activities, in loose morals, in hazard games, in a low value of human life, and in a general lack of trust.[13]

On the other hand, perhaps as a reaction to these conditions of insecurity and of social disorganization, there was an urge of complete renunciation of the world and its strife, an urge to detach oneself from the group, a tendency to isolate oneself completely from human society and seek personal consolation and personal salvation in religion. This trend of social withdrawal and self-oriented feelings brought about a great development of hermitism and of monastic life. Many of these people, completely detached from human society and preoccupied exclusively with their own self, sought peace and communion with God in lonely, remote depths of forests, in the solitude of the wilds and deserts. Here "far removed from men" they spent their lives in prayer, fasting and self-maceration.

At the same time the masses of the people who lived in great misery and who were exposed to arbitrariness, exploitation, and other forms of oppression on the part of the mighty, sought consolation and hope in supernatural forces. Beliefs in miraculous powers of wonder-working icons and in life-giving properties of the Cross were taking deep roots. On all sides sprang up prophecies and apparitions. Saint men and prophets, often mentally unbalanced, would appear in the streets and openly voice their protest against the Czar and his government.[14]

These were the only signs of an open opposition to the existing system that was becoming increasingly unbearable. Such "idiots" were considered saintly by the people not only because of their strange behavior and their ability to endure extremes of hardship, but also for their unheard of courage to speak openly against the Czar:

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ture was detrimental to the development of trade and industry. For centuries its economy remained founded on a system of primitive agriculture. Lack of large centers of trade and industry adversely affected rural economy. There was no stimulation for agricultural improvements and for freeing of the serfs. Instead, the emphasis was on the exploitation of serf labor as the most expedient means to satisfy the demands of the landlords and of the state. The landlords were mostly absent on military campaigns or other state duties and were generally disinterested in land improvements. At the same time the system of using the land as a pay for military or other state services, in a country whose war campaigns and military contingents were increasing, tended to diminish the size of the donations and increase the burdens imposed on the serfs.

The lack of urbanization, together with the low standard of education of the service nobility, kept also the intellectual development of Russia far behind that in the West. Intellectual activity was limited mainly to the court circles. The ideology and practices of the Russian Church favored intellectual stagnation. Russia accepted Christianity from Byzantium after the Greek Church had already given up classical traditions of Hellenism. By the time Byzantine Christianity entered Russia, Byzantine literature had assumed an almost exclusively ecclesiastical character, and education consisted almost entirely of religious teaching and the reading of the lives of the saints. Art, too, became exclusively religious and stereotyped. All thought was regimented according to religious dogmas and political objectives of the power-holders.

In Russia this type of intellectual rigidity and inactivity was emphasized because of the use of the Old-Slavonic language in the Church, which resulted in neglect of Greek language. And it was considered a sin to learn the "thrice accursed Latin tongue." Thus, the Russian clergymen became isolated from the West because they lacked the possession of the only instruments in which human knowledge was communicated in those days. Moreover, Russian Orthodoxy, like the Byzantine Orthodoxy, was based on monasticism. But unlike the manifold monastic practices of the Western Church, the monks in the Russian Church tended to lead an inactive life of asceticism aimed at personal salvation.

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where true Christianity was preserved. In the official statements. in the prayers, in the Church sermons and school textbooks, the Russian Empire was represented as a Holy Land (*Sviataya Rus*).

Accordingly, official geographic studies and statistics tended to magnify everything within the frontiers of the Empire. Russian possessions and might, the resources and riches of the Czar, the progress and virtues of the country were pictured in the school textbooks in a fabulous way. A steady and imposing territorial growth of the Czardom in the course of many centuries at the expense of the East and the West undoubtedly supported these feelings of greatness. In this manner successes in policies of external expansion promoted desires for further conquests.

As long as the authority of the Church remained unshaken the power of the Czar rested on solid foundations. The Czars were able to increasingly concentrate and monopolize all social power while the Czardom expanded territorially in all directions, in spite of all its internal weaknesses.

In the meantime, however, the economic, educational and religious reforms introduced since the eighteenth century tended to undermine the sacredness of the Church as well as the power of the Czar. It was in such circumstances that feelings of revolt bred on all levels of social organization had an opportunity to come into the open, challenging the Czarist regime and all the institutions on which it was based. The people who were treated like wards and minors and were kept in oppressive dependency in the family, in the local community and on the state level rebelled against the system which kept them in perpetual bondage, a trend of events which finally brought about the downfall of the Czardom. The family roots and the development of this personal and social revolt which had shattered the Czardom will be discussed on the following pages.

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593 157 Like Jupiter, he only interfered in the affairs of mortals in moments of crisis. But when he did interfere it was no laughing matter, and everybody, from cellar to attic, trembled in his shoes . . .[30]

776 771 This God-like, unapproachable, inscrutable, absolute and arbitrary power of a stern and violent but also benevolent, compassionate and solicitous father was apparently projected into the Russian supernatural world in the form of the *Domovoy*, the house spirit. According to the Great-Russian folk beliefs, the Domovoy was the protector of the house; he had patriarchal prerogatives over it, but also depended upon it. He demanded from the family all kinds of honors. At the same time he was as unpredictable in his behavior as any stereotyped family head in the Great-Russian patriarchal family system.

Thus the Domovoy was at times protective, benevolent and compassionate, but at other times he would become wicked, vindictive and mischievous. He was endowed with supernatural powers and could bring either fortune or calamity upon the family, depending upon his frequently changing moods and dispositions. It was, therefore, considered wise to address him as "Grand Father" and to propitiate and appease him by frequent offerings in viands. If such attention were shown to him he was likely to be helpful. But if he were neglected, he would become [782] enraged and full of wrathful vengeance. In such a case, he could be atoned only by blood; the corners of the izba were sprinkled with blood of a cock that was killed for the occasion and various incantations were uttered.[31]

8
FAMILY CONFLICTS

I

593 THE FATHER treated his family members as wards and minors because he was responsible for their well-being, their behavior and their salvation. He had to show a constant solicitude for them (*neustannaya zabota*). The blame for their

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Family centrism, family isolation, and lack of trust in one's neighbor were apparently projected into the supernatural world where one's own Domovoy, though at times arbitrary, ill-tempered and spiteful, was generally considered to be benevolent—bringing good luck to the household which was under his care and solicitude. The neighbor's Domovoy, on the other hand, was always a malevolent and wicked being who could never be propitiated and who was likely to steal your hay or drive away your cattle for the benefit of the home which was under his protection. The Russian peasants, therefore, developed means of defense against the neighbor's Domovoy in the form of spells and exorcisms.

Lack of social trust is not favorable to the development of solidarity within a community. Therefore lack of group identification among the peasants and burghers, the same as the lack of the *esprit de corps* among the nobility, contributed to the perpetuation of the autocratic rule. Lack of communal identifications was an obstacle to the turning of group hostilities against the ruling classes. In such circumstances a great deal of personal aggressiveness had to find outlets and targets within the local community and within the family circle itself. Only when the authorities suffered crushing defeat and loss of prestige the hostilities would turn against them and mass uprisings would take place, demanding re-establishment of old communal values.

With the ascendancy of the otsovskaya system, family relations came to be organized in a hierarchical system along the lines of paternity, marriage status, seniority and sex. At one time, only married male members formed the family council (soviet). The males had priority over the females. Within each sex category the elder had priority rights over the younger. When the family was partitioned, custom demanded that the older brothers leave the ancestral home while the youngest, following Mongol traditions, remained on the paternal *koren* (root).[4] In marrying the daughters it was the eldest who had to be married first.

In the patriarchal family, in their relations to the father, all family members were expected to accept his rule with fear and awe (*strakh*) and with humility (*smirenie*). They had to show absolute submission and blind obedience (*besprekoslovnoe povinovenie*),[5] as well as love and gratitude (*blagodarnost*).[6]

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The Great-Russian epic legends have the same image of the mother. One of the most peculiar and significant aspects of these narratives is that in times of distress, in moments of gloom or when gripped by strong feelings of guilt it is often the mother who comes to the rescue of the *bogatyr* (legendary hero), gives him solace, helps him with advice, places her treasure at his disposal.[2] The mother is considered to be of such a great value that heroes, in the course of their feasting and drinking bouts, when boasting of their war exploits, of their horses and possessions, boast also of their mothers:

> One boasts of his good steed,
> One boasts his silken breeches,
> One boasts his villages with hamlets,
> One boasts his towns with their suburbs,
> One boasts of his dear mother,
> But the foolish one boasts of his young wife.[3]

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Mother's role as a moderator *vis-à-vis* a harsh and detached father was expressed very early in the Russian religious lore. For instance, one of the most popular religious tales of early Russia was the one of the "journey of the Mother of God through the Inferno." In this story the *Bogoroditsa* (Birth-giver to God), impressed by the tortures of sinners, implored God to pardon them. At first God was implacable, but finally, as a result of Bogoroditsa's supplication, he promised some relief in their suffering.[4] In the same manner the contemporary Russian religious folk poetry often pictures the Mother of God as the "fastest helper" and as the "warm interceder":

> Mother mine—Mother Maria,
> Purest maiden—The Most Holy
> Mother of the World—Maria,
> Most holy Birthgiver to God,
> Beautiful sun,
> Purest dove,
> Mother of God,
> The fastest helper,
> The warm interceder
> Intercede, save and have mercy.[5]

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This idealized image of mother as a helper and interceder that was projected into religious lore has been manifested also in widespread Madonna worship. The cult of the Bogoroditsa was noticeably developed in Russian society from the days of its conversion to Christianity. The old Russian princes of the Kiev period invoked the help of the Mother of God, dedicated their cities to her, and wrote prayers to her.[6] Throughout many centuries Madonna icons were very widely in use and prayers to Madonna were very frequent in the religious practices of the Russian Church. Some of the most outstanding Russian Orthodox cathedrals have been dedicated to the Mother of God.

Identification with mother is seen in the often used phrase "Mother Russia" and in the word *rodina*—"mother-country." Also rivers and cities are regularly identified with mother (Mother Volga, Mother Moscow). The days in the week which are considered holy or consecrated are sometimes identified with mother, such as Mother Wednesday, Mother Friday.[7] And in Russian epic poetry, the whole earth is invariably identified with mother in the often-repeated phrase *Mat syra zemlya*—moist Mother Earth.

Of course other attachments took place in the Great-Russian family as manifested in the identification of a younger brother with his older brother and in frequent father-daughter emotional ties. There were, also, families in which mother appeared not in her expected role of close friend and protector but in that of a domineering and tyrannical despot. All such relations had their particular effects on the development of a child's personality, as we shall see on the following pages.

10
DEPENDENCE, SENSE OF GUILT, FEAR

I

WHEN a child's demand for attention and love is thwarted by a dominating and forbidding father, feelings of

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might be indicated in the farewell greeting phrase: *prashchaite* (forgive me). The same sentiment is manifested in readiness to shed tears at the slightest provocation. Easy and frequent weeping is found in all strata of Russian society, men and women alike. Autobiographies, belles-lettres as well as folk literature, give ample evidence for this phenomenon. Religious practices of the Russian Church support such needs and demand that repentance be manifested in frequent tears. There are even practical precepts in Russian Church literature about how to provoke tears:

> If you have no tears, do not despair; sigh frequently and heavily from all the heart; for tears are the gift of God, and by and by, with sighs and prayers you will obtain them from God. . . . Having found tears, preserve them with all your strength.[5]

II

It appears that this sense of guilt and passion for confession and self-incrimination, which are rooted in patriarchal family structure, might be strengthened and promoted by a social system in which one is utterly at the mercy of arbitrary superior forces that are not bound nor limited by any moral obligations or any superior principles of law or justice. If one has aroused the anger of such forces he may have a slight hope of forgiveness and salvation only if he completely gives up his individuality, renounces all struggle, and prostrates himself before the omnipotent powers, begging for pity and commiseration.

The annals of Russia's political, social and juridical history give much evidence of such feelings and attitudes. It is perhaps in the field of religion where such sense of utter helplessness before a fearful superior force is projected. There is a tendency in Russian religious beliefs to picture at the one end of the Universe a stern and implacable God and at the other end of it a helpless mankind which is at the complete mercy of this detached and fearful Ruler. But the orphans, the poor, the needy and the repentant, in other words those who are utterly helpless and dependent can expect compassion from Him.[6] Hence there is emphasis both on fear and humility in Russian Orthodoxy.

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That image of God and attitudes toward him might be to a certain extent projections of social and political relations could be seen, for instance, in the *Hundred Chapters,* a practical code of several centuries of Russia's early Christian life. This code stresses the need for fear and awe of earthly powers as a way to train oneself in fear and awe of God. "A pupil fears the master's cudgel more than the master himself"; "After them (masters), bow your head with humility, before every rich man"; "Those who have received power and fortune from their Tsar require glory also from their friends and demand veneration from minors." "Bow your head to everybody senior to you . . . fear the prince with all your power . . . from him you will learn how to fear God. . . . Who does not fear the earthly lord, how will he fear Him whom he does not see." "With the fear of God, as with a bridle, restrain your mind, keeping a watch on yourself every hour."[7]

This tendency to project the fear of omnipotent earthly powers into the supernatural world persisted as long as the autocratic and despotic powers of the Father and of the Czar were perpetuated and as long as the Church identified itself with the state. Describing her confessor, a Russian princess said that: "His [the priest's] principles were exactly those of my uncle; he was an extreme monarchist representing God as absolute monarch of the universe, and identifying the ideas of religion with a kind of rigorous bureaucracy, controlling every detail of life."[8] The image of a demanding God giving nothing in return penetrated all the strata of Great-Russian society, the peasants and the merchants, as well as the nobility and the intelligentsia:

> *Nyanya* [nurse] was entrusted with my religious instruction . . . She thought God was just like the Czar, except that one lived in heaven and the other on earth. He was the most powerful of all beings and inclined to be stern rather than merciful. At any rate she always spoke of his severity and never of his goodness. "He'll teach you to behave yourself! He doesn't forgive people! He is pitiless when He is offended!" . . . The saints were of negligible importance in her eyes.[9]

Chaikovsky, the renowned Russian composer, had a similar idea of God as a fearful being: "I had toward Him (and even

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

771 776 now my feelings have not changed) a feeling of wonder but at the same time also of fear. He created Heaven and earth. He too created me—and still even though I bow before Him, there is no love."[10] Michael Bakunin only elaborated on this basic popular concept of the Russian Orthodox God when he pictured the Lord as "God of vengeance and rage" who delights in eternal torturing of human beings and who is so "bloodthirsty and cruel" that he decided that his own son should be tortured and put to death by means of crucifixion.[11] A similar image of a self-seeking, dominating, arbitrary, and cruel God is found also in some Russian religious folk poems: [538]

> Your gifts are not dear to me
> But dear to me are your souls.
> And I will be God above Gods,
> I will be Tzar above Tzars.
> And I will pick the apostles myself,
> And I will give them my mark,
> And I will give them my baptism.
> I will send them in all countries
> Who will receive them, will save himself
> And who does not, he will be tortured.[12]

Before such a God, like before the omnipotent earthly powers, there is nothing one can do but resign himself to his fate and await for God's decision at his *Strashny Sud* (Terrible Judgment). Thus when Fletcher asked a Russian Orthodox Bishop if he knew he was going to be saved the answer was that ". . . he knew not whether he should bee saved or no: but if God would *poshallovat* (take compassion on) him, or gratifie him so much as to save him, so it was, hee would be glad of it; if not what remedie?"[13] Such an image of an omnipotent, fierce and arbitrary God, the same as that of an all-powerful and harsh Father or Czar, might inspire humility, blind obedience and unconditional submissiveness; it might provoke also strong feelings of guilt, and a need for repentance and expiation of one's sins. Thus, next to fear, Russian religion emphasizes meekness and asceticism as a means of survival in the face of all-mighty and arbitrary powers.[14]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which

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[Ivan the Terrible]

In this manner popular religious ideas and practices which 771 182
might have developed as a response to the interpersonal relations in the family and in the Czardom in their own turn tended to perpetuate the existing social and political order, its institutions and practices. There were, however, other aspects of interpersonal relations intrinsic to that social organization which provoked responses that tended not to perpetuate it, but to undermine it and to destroy its very foundations. These important agents of structural change in Russian society will be discussed on the following pages.

11
POWER-SEEKING, MISTRUST, AND DESTRUCTIVE AGGRESSION

I

A CHILD who has been rejected and humiliated by 000
a stern and scornful father, but who has been spoiled by an overindulgent mother might respond to such a situation by developing an exaggerated concern for his own ego, and an extreme intolerance for privations and denials. And in case the mother cannot serve as a satisfactory substitute for rejection by the father, complete detachment from the group, and pity for an abandoned, degraded and suffering self might develop. In such circumstances also a deeply rooted suspicion of others, an unbridled desire for power, and an overwhelming hate and urge for destruction of all those who stand in one's path might take place.

The life histories of a number of Russian rulers and intelligentsia apparently show such an effect of their family environment.[1] Childhood experiences and character traits of Ivan the Terrible, for instance, provide an outstanding example. There is sufficient evidence for the contention that the strange behavior of this Czar was rooted in rejection and in alternating mistreat- 593 154 159

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[Catherine Breshkovskaya]
[Bakunin]

154 159 668 How many times, stupefied and shocked, I have been the witness of such humiliating, degrading, excruciating things! How many times I have thrown myself at my father's feet to implore pardon for a so-called culprit, whose only fault, perhaps, was to have fallen asleep while herding the sheep! How many times I have been indignant to see how hundreds of peasants would be kept waiting in the courtyard, bare-headed and shivering with cold, waiting for the master to appear, after making them wait all day, would send them off without a word, so taken up was he with gambling at cards with other lords, who in their turn were making their coachmen wait on the carriage box till their hands were frozen! These things tormented my childish mind, and pursued me even into my bed, where I would lie awake for hours, unable to sleep for thinking of all the horrors about me. Child as I was, I could not understand why these honest folk should bear the entire burden of work and of taxes. I saw that my father, good though he was, put much more heart into looking after his own interests than the interests of his serfs, and I was shocked at the inequality between the rich and the poor. From the age of eight, how to find justice was the question that troubled me.[5]

538 771 Identification with suffering is outstanding in the literary works of Dostoyevsky. Influenced by religious feelings, he considered his own sufferings as a blessing. He identified Russia with crucified Christ and regarded the sufferings of the Russian people as a means by which the wrongs of all mankind will be expiated so that a new and better order will prevail on the earth: "All men will be holy and love one another, and there will be no more rich nor poor, no exulted nor humbled, but all will be as the children of God, and the true Kingdom of Christ will come."[6]

II

593 159 668 Not in all families of Russian intelligentsia was the situation alike. There were families in which harmonious relations prevailed. There were also families in which reaction developed not against the despotism of the father but against the tyranny of the mother. Bakunin, for instance, describes his mother as "a vain, egotistical woman and none of her children loved her."[7] According to Carr, Bakunin "attributed his passion for destruction to the influence of his mother, whose despotic character

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tioned them to dominance-submission and protection-dependence relationships, but yearning also for the Old-Slavonic anarchic and egalitarian justice, the "Slavophils" tended to idealize especially those institutions in which paternalistic, as well as equalitarian, relationships were well established, but which they saw distintegrating in new circumstances. Such was, for instance, the *mir* institution, according to their view.

According to the Slavophil interpretation, the old Russian and Slav community was founded on the principles of obedience, mutual responsibility, social justice and equality, Christian love and humility.[5] They asserted that the Russian land commune was the foundation of an original and highly satisfactory culture which was exempt from the vices of the Western civilization, untainted with proletarianization, pauperism, and the problem of wages. The mir was an institution in which man felt as an organic and integral part of his community. There was no uncertainty, no insecurity, and no frustrations in that social system since in it the values were absolute and unchallenged.[6]

The Slavophils idealized Russia's patriarchal relationships based on absolute and unchallenged values, on faith and on total fusion of man and community, as contrasted to Western individualism, cosmopolitanism, rationalism and skepticism. They contended that reason, if separated from faith, introduces doubts, splits and conflicts between man and his society. They stressed the organic totality and harmony of the Old-Slavonic and pre-Petrine Russian society in contrast to the materialism and class strife of the West.[7]

The old pre-Petrine order which the Slavophils idealized had greatly depended upon Church support and religious sanction for its perpetuation. The Slavophils therefore feared that Western liberalism which was beginning to penetrate Russia would undermine its religious foundation. As a defense against such demoralizing influences, the Slavophils pointed out that the Western world was rapidly disintegrating because of the spreading of free thought and because of the decline of the faith. The West was a prey to Roman heathenism, they said, and it was from this traditional anti-Christian spirit that revolutions, free thought, the papacy, and the Reformation had sprung.

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According to Slavophils the doom of the Western civilization was sealed when rationalism was allowed to destroy faith. It was then that the human spirit became divided against itself, which meant its disintegration. God and man, intuition and reason, beauty and truth are one, they claimed. As soon as man does not possess such a mystic unity with the absolute, he is plunged into skepticism and disbelief, his reason is separated from his soul and he becomes a "split man."

Owing to the organic totality of his body and soul, of his faith and reason, the Russian man possessed the "inner truth," which is the real truth, as against the "outer truth" or superficial truth of the Westerner, the Slavophils said. Therefore in contrast to the "split man" of the West, the Russian man was a "total man" (*vsechelovek*).[8] In this manner, the Russian man who has achieved his unity with God has achieved also the unity of his nation with God. The Russian nation is therefore a "God-bearing" nation (*Bogonosets*):

> . . . do you know who are the only 'god-bearing' people on earth, destined to regenerate and save the world in the name of a new God, and to whom are given the keys of life and of the new world . . . Do you know which is that people and what is its name?[9]

Aware that without strong religious feelings such a man and society could not exist, and fearing the decline of the old Orthodox-patriarchal values in a bureaucratized and secularized Russia, the Slavophils demanded a return to the old pre-Petrine theocratic system, one in which the Church would absorb the state. In accordance with such an ideology the Slavophils asserted that when the Church has absorbed the state, then the state will ascend and become a Church over the whole world, a Church kingdom ruling over all the earth which is the "glorious destiny ordained for the Orthodox Church."[10]

The Slavophils asserted that the political organization as developed in the West was a system of conquest and force. Being therefore an instrument of oppression, such a political organization was foreign to the Slavs and to the Russian people, and it should not be maintained.[11] In accordance with the anarchic and egalitarian traditions of the Old-Slavonic society, the Slavophils

565 154 [156] Outside the family,[1] however, this system of social relationships tended to lose its protection-dependence character and to emphasize domineering-subservience attitudes in complete contrast to the traditions of and his yearning for an equalitarian and protective folk community that had existed in the past.

In such circumstances his sense of rejection and his demand for acceptance which he might have experienced in the family were reinforced and magnified, affecting his whole view of life, his attitudes toward the world around him and his image of the universe. He was convinced that there was no justice in the world and that there was nobody to whom he could appeal for redress. "Injustice and untruth rule the world"; "Injustice and untruth started with the world and will end with the world," he would say.[1]

● 771 565 In such circumstances the peasant was inclined to see the wrathful, the revengeful, and the implacable aspect of God, especially since such image of a Christian God had support in the teachings of the Russian Orthodoxy. Accordingly the peasant visioned the saints who surrounded the Old Man as quarrelling among themselves and bragging about their strength and achievements and as being vindictive, cheating, and playing tricks on one another.[2] Since the peasant pictured Christ as being only the son of a wrathful Father, he could not depend upon him according to the Russian view of patriarchal family relationships. The Russian peasant therefore had a "sympathetic but detached view of Christ."[3]

The peasant's feeling of rejection in regard to God was manifested in his lack of assurance as to the help he could expect from Him. God, to whom he prayed, seldom interfered on his behalf against earthly authorities. And though "All power was from God," the peasant knew that "God gives power to whom he wants to." The peasant was therefore at times openly resentful of God's neglect. "God neither lets you live nor die," he would say. In his despair he was inclined to believe that there were other forces, beside God, which ruled the universe, such as the Devil who was looked upon as "the junior brother of God and his carpenter in the creation of the universe."[4] And, not unlike Asiatic steppe herders who lived in similar circumstances, the

1 [i.e. the peasant family of Tsarist days -- Analyst]

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Great-Russian peasant saw the need to keep on good terms with this ruler of the underworld.

Since the Czar was identified with God, the peasant's feeling toward the Czar was like his attitude toward God. He knew that the Czar was as omnipotent as God. "Everything is in the power of God and the Czar," he would say. Therefore, he feared the Czar like he feared God, he felt an awe before the Czar as before God, and he hoped for the best, but it can hardly be said that he had much love for him. "Czar is not fire, but if you come close to him you will burn yourself," he would say. His idea was also that "Where there is Czar there is fear and dread," and that "Czar's rage spreads death." Since God was so far away, detached, neglectful, and implacable, it was the Czar's fearful power that mattered. "God's is the will, but the court is Czar's," he would say.[5]

The peasant's feelings toward the supreme power of the world and of the universe reflected only his bitter experiences with the representatives of these powers on the earth with whom he had to deal in local affairs. Often these did not bring justice, but venality, arbitrariness and persecution. "The court is founded on untruth and injustice"; "Where there is court there is chicanery," he would say. And since the judges were corrupted, the only way to get anything from them was to bribe them. "The judge is useful as much as the pocket is helpful," he would say. Such action, however, was not always advisable because of greediness of the judges. "You will never fill a judge's pocket"; "Do not litigate, you will strangle yourself."[6]

Because of his traditional distrust of authorities the peasant showed also a profound lack of trust in all written laws. He likened the law to the cobweb whose purpose was to catch the small and helpless, not the big and powerful ("The bumblebee will break through, the fly will get stuck."). He also compared the law to a tool that could be used arbitrarily by those who held it in their hands ("The law is like shaft, you turn it wherever you want it."). He noticed that "those who write the laws also break them," and concluded that "It is in vain to write laws if they are not carried out." In accordance with the Old-Slavonic anarchic and equalitarian traditions he was inclined to believe

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The peasant therefore appraised the social environment in which he lived as dominated by powerful destructive forces which were capricious, neglectful and inimical but upon which he was completely dependent for his life and livelihood. He strongly resented these powers and wished he could destroy them, but felt helpless before them. He therefore projected his feelings of helplessness as well as his destructive urges into the supernatural world and proceeded to inhabit that world with all-powerful, arbitrary, and vicious beings which sought the annihilation of man, and of the earth.

II

On the family level in similar circumstances, two contrasting tendencies, that of complete submission to the parental power and that of rebellion against it are likely to be formed. In a like manner submission and rebellion characterized the behavior of the Russian peasantry on the local community level. The peasant was inclined to appear servile and docile toward all authorities. He would address every one of his superiors as "Father" (*batyushka*). He would bow low (*klanyatsya v poyas*) or in twain (*klanyatsya v nogi*) before them. Before the Czar he would prostrate himself (*chelobitye*) and if the Czar was passing by he would fall on his knees and cross himself. All he could hope for was that by offering unconditional obedience or by propitiating the powers that be, he would be spared. And if all this appeasing of the authorities were in vain he would refrain from revolt as long as he realized that he was utterly helpless and without support in the front of overwhelming powers. In such circumstances he tended to become completely resigned and fatalistic. He might arrive at the conclusion that "You cannot run away from fate, not even on horse-back," and that "Unto each man happens what was decreed at his birth."[9]

With such a frame of mind the Russian peasant was ready to accept great suffering without much complaint. "Misfortune is like the ocean: neither you can swim across it nor can you draw it out," he would say. "And who is it that was not visited by misfortune and misery?" he would ask. Therefore since "You cannot escape misery," "Do not struggle with misery, but suffer"

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church claiming that " . . . one is not better for going there . . . because everything there has to be paid for. Besides, I have the Church within myself."[3]

Sutayev then started a religious crusade aiming at "a new life, the organization of a Christian life." He preached that "the nobles and the rich must give back the land to those to whom it of right belongs." He disapproved of commerce, of money, of private property, of violence, and of any form of coercion. He claimed that if commerce, money and violence were eliminated, then the courts and the tax collectors would disappear too. The tax collectors and all the functionaries who live on the people will not be necessary any more, he said. The army and the war will be suppressed since "all men are brothers." "The Kingdom of God must be brought here on the earth," he asserted.[4] Similar protest against the existing conditions of serfdom and rejection, and demand for an all-human equalitarian brotherhood were expressed in many songs of the Dissenters:

All kinds of ignorance,
Moral wretchedness,
Falsehood and inconsistency,
Baseness, hypocrisy,
Coarse superstition,
Are contrary to Christianity!
Slavery, oppression,
Violence, constraint,
Every sort of pressure against people—
All this—
Is abomination before God,
Transgression of his commandments.
All people on earth
Are the children of one mother,
And above God there is no power.
And all without regard to standing in society,
Should be equal
And free in their conscience.
Everyone can pray,
According to what seems to him,
To be his obligation in relation to God.

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Why then in deeds of faith
Measures of compulsion
And all kinds of constraint?

• • •

Why then is this?[5]

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Protest against the existing conditions of abusive dominance and subservient submission and longing for acceptance on terms of anarchic equality seems to have been the driving power behind the ideologies of a number of Great-Russian religious sects, such as the *Dukhobortsy* (the spirit-wrestlers), and the *Molokane* (the milk-drinkers). Not unlike the Nihilists and the Anarchists (whose reaction was also rooted in feelings of rejection), all these sects showed a strong resentment against abusive and distant authorities. At first the religious dissenters attacked the Church authorities but then this anti-authority attitude was generalized and extended to all the authorities, including the family, the landlords, the state and the Czar.

As a result all the authorities were blamed for the existing social ills and their removal was considered necessary in order to achieve a better life. There was no need for official clergy, courts, churches, sacraments, fasts, confession, communion, or any Church rituals except simple hymn singing, these sects said. There was no need for the Czar either, they claimed. Anything that smacked of authority and power was rejected. "We behold what a spirit of impiety works and shall work to the end of the world in all holders of power," they stated.[6] In 1868, a sect decreed that anyone who prays for the existing authorities shall be excommunicated. Now all the authorities, not just the priests, were identified with the beasts! "How will you ever find grace at the hands of the Beast?" A number of these sects identified the Czar with the Anti-Christ.

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In their reaction against the suppression of the individual in the interest of those who hold power and in their strongly felt need for acceptance on terms of complete equality, the Dukhobortsy—not unlike the Nihilists—proclaimed the supremacy and the sanctity of the individual. Their demand for an anarchic acceptance was manifested in the emphasis of the

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III

Just as in the ideology of Nihilism and Anarchism, revolt against degrading submission and rejection and demand for acceptance in some sects took the form of extreme power-seeking and self-deification. In the sect *Lyudi Bozhii* (people of God), for instance, the craving to become God incarnate or to have a live incarnation of Deity actually present in their midst was so strong that since the time of the sect's founder who claimed to be God Zebaoth (Sabaoth) a whole series of Christs came into being, succeeding one another by a sort of filiation or adoption. Finally each religious community of this sect boasted of having a flesh-and-blood Christ in its midst. They claimed that it was in each man's own power to unite himself to the Deity and to incarnate it in his own body. A woman had the faculty to become *Boginya* (the Goddess) or *Bogoroditsa* (Mother of God) and many women did achieve such self-apotheosis, adding to the number of divinities of each community.[19]

It was by means of suffering and mortification of flesh that candidates for Messiahship competed among themselves for this supreme achievement. These exploits were accompanied with self-glorification. In this way both power-seeking and identification with suffering were realized. The followers would watch for years to see which of the rival pretenders to Christhood underwent the greatest sufferings. The rivals for Godship, on the other hand, often resorted to trickery to prove their claims.[20] But once the issue was settled and a God-incarnate was recognized, the whole congregation owed Him supreme reverence and unconditional obedience which satisfied the contender's craving for power: "I am God, foretold of the prophets. There is no other God than I. Seek ye none other. Where unto ye are appointed, abide therein."[21] On the part of the congregation the desire for Christ-incarnate in their midst manifested a strong need for protective dependence and acceptance.

Hence longing for a world in which truth and justice, kindness and love would reign, in which there would be no abusive serfdom, no subservience, tortures and sufferings, but happi-

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ness, trust and all-human equality and fraternal aid was strongly felt in these sects. Many of these people expressed such yearnings in the form of religious hymns and rituals. It is to be expected that in these hymns and practices Christ and Mother of God, symbols of love and acceptance, not "Old God," symbol of rage and fear, would be worshipped and longed for:

The Czardom of Truth will be restored
Amongst us here on earth,
And the flame of heavenly life
Will be rekindled in our midst.
Only then, when malice and slander
Disappear from the face of earth,
And man acknowledges the Lord,
God of everlasting love,
When the world replaces pride and hypocrisy
With Truth and Justice of God,
And in the yearnings of the noble soul
Love and kindness are revived,
When all are equal under God
And the weak no longer are oppressed,
When man his thoughts to Lord will turn
And spread Truth and Justice of God,
When the force of dismal prisons, tortures and shackles
No longer reigns,
The living God will resurrect
Eternal freedom in the heart of man.
To this Czardom, thou seeker of God,
Hasten and sincerely yearn for
With a clear heart, tirelessly,
Pray thou to the Creator of the universe.
For to sow the seeds of good and love,
Are we summoned by the Lord;
So that torture and death do not appall us
In the living of our days,
We will have to be the executors
Of the Holy conceptions of Christ
Then the Czardom of Truth of God
Will tread upon the earth.
We shall have the destiny
Of creating Christ's Family.

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This is great fortune
For all the servants of the world,
Sharers in honesty and trust,
Executors of the Covenant of Christ.[22]

Longing for acceptance was not only manifested in the worship of living "Christ," but also in carnal communion with the "Christs" and "Madonnas," in ecstatic trances and mass religious hallucinations, and apparently even in some cannibalistic practices.[23] Thus when in consequence of sacred rites a Bogorodica would bear a child, if a boy, he was known as *Khristosik* (the little Christ). According to some students of Russia's religious life the Khristosik was immolated on the eighth day after his birth. His heart and blood, mixed with flour and honey, were served to make the cakes for the Eucharist. This practice was called "Taking Communion in the blood of the Lamb."[24] At other times, according to the same sources, it was a young virgin, chosen as Mother of God who willingly gave her left breast to be cut out amidst ritual dancing and singing. The breast was then partaken of as the "true Eucharistic food."[25]

Great emotional insecurity and extreme fear of rejection might explain why elements of power-seeking were present in all sects, even in those which professed complete repudiation of power in any form whatsoever. For instance, Popov, the founder of the Molokane sect which originally professed complete freedom of conscience and complete equality, eventually entirely suppressed liberty of discussion and interpretation. Unconditional submission to the authorities he declared to be the first duty, insubordination the greatest sin.[26] Andrey Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptsy sect, had himself designated in the prayers which were addressed to him in his lifetime, as "God of Gods and King of Kings," even though the Skoptsy sect professed complete freedom from any form of coercion.[27]

Also early in the history of the Dukhobortsy we find that their communistic practices finally led to dictatorship and despotism.[28] The leaders of this sect knew how to take personal advantage of the longing of the sect members for protective dependence and acceptance. One of the leaders of this sect, Kapustin, in the beginning of the nineteenth century expounded

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hearts of the Soviet subjects and to exert unremitting pressure on them, so that they never relax in their striving to conform to the Party's will. The secret police, in Lenin's words, is "our weapon of assault upon innumerable conspiracies . . . innumerable attempts against Soviet authority."[20]

23
CONTROL OF THOUGHT AND FEELING

MONOPOLIZATION of all social power by the Bolshevik rulers and their failure to satisfy the traditional demands for equality and acceptance has been breeding both apathy and latent rebellion in Soviet society. Realizing that such a development might eventually undermine their power, early in their rule the Bolsheviks proceeded to indoctrinate the thoughts and to control the feelings of their subjects. It became imperative to evoke identification of the masses with Bolshevik leadership and gain their faith, enthusiasm and willing self-sacrifice in support of the Soviet system.[1]

In order to justify this need for ideological and emotional conformity, it became necessary to monopolize the Truth. The Bolsheviks therefore stated that all problems, those of the past and of the present, as well as those of the future, have found their answer in Marxist-Leninist theory. They asserted, however, that since this theory "is not a dogma, but a guide to action,"[2] the Bolshevik leadership is "able to enrich this theory with the new propositions and conclusions, . . . to *develop it and advance* it" and "to replace such of its propositions and conclusions as have become antiquated by new ones corresponding to the new historical situation."[3] And just as earlier the Russian Orthodox Church had claimed to represent the "true Christianity" centered in Moscow, the Third Rome, so now the Bolshevik rulers have usurped for themselves the right to represent the "true Marxism," centered in the Kremlin:

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is "perfected until there are no shortcomings." Then on members of such a group one can make great demands.[33] They will be disciplined, enduring, courageous and faithful. Work will become "second nature" to them; they will not abhor hard effort, nor be afraid of "healthy sweat."[34] They will be industrious and efficient and will develop the "best and most worthy feelings of man," that is, devotion to labor, heroism in the struggle against the forces of reaction, untiring, ruthless and unwavering vigilance against the survivals of capitalism, and an irreconcilable attitude toward the slightest manifestations of deviationism.[35]

III

In the days of Czardom the system of economic and political regimentation found its support in religious sanction and in nationalism. In a like manner the Bolsheviks had early realized that great privations which their regime demands could be best elicited from their subjects with the help of an identification with the great, the absolute, the sublime. It is by such means that traditional cravings for attachment and acceptance could be satisfied. In such a manner also a sense of guilt and urge for self-sacrifice could be reinforced and employed for political purposes.

It is along such efforts that the Bolsheviks have revived and strengthened the traditional Russian images of God, Czar, Father and Mother and have projected these images to the Leader and to the Party. The likeness to God and religion is manifested in the Bolshevik claim of infallibility of their leaders, universality, eternity, and sanctity of their doctrines. Lenin's teachings, for instance, are extolled by the Bolsheviks as being "superior" to any other ideology, as embracing the whole of humanity, and as living forever:

> Lenin's thoughts represent a superior achievement of the Russian and of the world culture; an eternally living and eternally developing science of society—a fighting banner of the working class—living soul of the Bolshevik Party which led our Fatherland to the avant-garde of the whole human kind.
>
> The books of the vozhd and teacher are immortal. They live and

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771 829 will live eternally. Yes, Lenin lives, his spirit is immortal—his idea is eternal—the leaves of his wonder books are imperishable.[36]

769 643 Lenin is represented not only as the architect of a promised world, but also as a prophet, all of whose prophecies have come to pass (*svershayutsya vse prorochestva Lenina*). There is an officially sponsored cult of Lenin which is propagated by means of many legends that surround his life, his activities, his martyrdom, and his death. He lies mummified in a mausoleum where thousands of pilgrims daiiy come to worship him. And throughout the country there are numerous Lenin's museums which, like the churches, remind the faithful of the omnipresence of Lenin's spirit. It is the aim of the ruling hierarchy to make their subjects incorporate in their conscience the image of a holy, infallible, and immortal Lenin in whose name the Bolsheviks will be able to make great demands:

> Here everything is eternal,
> Here everything is holiness
> Here sleeps a great Man—
> He and the people are inseparable
> He is—the Conscience of my Motherland.[37]

771 643 Accordingly, as in its worship of Lenin, the Party of the Bolsheviks is tireless in propagating the cult and the iconolatry of Stalin, who is pictured as Lenin's best pupil, as his closest friend and collaborator, and as his legitimate successor. In poems dedicated to him, Stalin is acclaimed as the "master of the entire world"; he is pictured as foreseeing the coming events and disasters, as possessing miraculous powers and life-giving qualities, and as being able to conquer death itself.[38]

With the death of Stalin, the Party is faced with the problem of molding the image of a new Leader with God-like qualities and patriarchal prerogatives. The Soviet press is now picturing Malenkov, one of the present top Party men, as being the pupil of Lenin and comrade-in-arms of Stalin. It is by means of such filiation that a new ruler acquires the attributes of the old deities.

ooo Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian

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Building on the traditional role of the Father in the Russian family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his family. Following the traditional image of God and of the Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the